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ABSTRACT

This paper clarifies core concepts in a Kentucky judge's decision that the State General Assembly has failed to provide an efficient system of common schools. Connecting "efficiency" of educational systems to "equality of educational opportunity," the paper argues that the realization of a constitutionally sound, efficient system of public elementary and secondary schools requires that policymakers extend their attention beyond changes in the school system. Kentucky policymakers should concern themselves with out-of-school social policies that will strengthen the socialization function of the family. And, even more importantly, they must focus on the need for fundamental social change. Such changes will require new, integrated relationships among businesses and industries, federal and state governments, and local communities. These relationships should aim at the development of a full-employment economy devoted to the production and availability of quality goods and services to meet basic human needs. (TES)

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WHAT TYPES OF POLICIES ARE REQUIRED FOR A CONSTITUTIONALLY SOUND, EFFICIENT EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM OF COMMON SCHOOLS?

A Policy Paper
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What Types of Policies Are Required for a Constitutionally Sound, Efficient Educational System of Common Schools

ABSTRACT

This paper clarifies core concepts in Judge Ray Corns' decision that the General Assembly has failed to provide an efficient system of common schools in Kentucky. The author argues that the realization of a constitutionally sound, efficient system of public elementary and secondary schools in Kentucky and the nation requires that policy decision-makers extend their attention beyond changes in the school system. Policy decision-makers in Kentucky, such as the Task Force on Education Reform, the Governor of Kentucky, and the members of Kentucky's General Assembly, should concern themselves with out-of-school social policies that will strengthen the socialization function of the family. And, even more importantly, policy decision-makers must focus on the need for fundamental social change. Such will require new, integrated relationships among businesses and industries, federal and state levels of government, and local communities. These relationships should aim at the development of a full employment economy devoted to the production and availability of quality manufactured goods and services for meeting basic human needs.

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What Types of Policies are Required for A Constitutionally Sound, Efficient Educational System of Common Schools?

Currently a Task Force on Educational Reform, composed of legislators and appointees of Governor Wilkinson, is struggling to formulate a wise set of educational policies for reforming the public school system of Kentucky. Their task is to develop defensible policies for the financing and governance of public elementary and secondary schools in Kentucky. In addition they are responsible for proposing changes in the curriculum of these schools so that Kentucky's youth can plug into the economic system of our nation more effectively.

The Task Force's efforts have resulted from Franklin Circuit Court Judge Ray Corns' judgment that the public schools of Kentucky are not constitutional. He came to this conclusion because of findings that to him supported the charge that Kentucky's General Assembly has failed to institute an "efficient" school system. Thus, the existing public school system is in violation of Section 13 of the Kentucky Constitution, which stipulates that an "'efficient' system of common schools" is mandatory in the Commonwealth.

What is an "'efficient' system of common schools?" Section 13 is not clear about this, and Judge Corns' decision has more to say about an equitable system than it does about an efficient system. Although equity and efficiency are related to one another in Judge Corns' decision they, along with other concepts, such as adequacy and equality, need to be distinguished one from the other if a coherent educational theory is to guide the Task Force on Education Reform's project to develop a constitutionally sound, efficient system of common schools in Kentucky.

Such a system must possess certain characteristics or the Task Force's proposals will likely end up being justifiably subject to the criticism, "...the more things change the more they remain the same."[1] One is that the Task Force will have to propose curricular changes that reflect more than a narrow view of human capital theory. A narrow view focuses on preparing people for the workplace. A broader view, one that is required for a constitutionally sound, efficient system of common schools,

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[1]Seymour B. Sarason, The Culture of the Schools and the Problem of Change (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1971).

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emphasizes the development of persons who can and will actively participate in the political process, a point that has been made by Governor Wilkinson, among others.

A second "must" characteristic of a constitutionally sound, efficient school system is that we create the conditions necessary for our least advantaged pupils to be economically productive and politically participative. This requires that the Task Force go beyond educational policy considerations (changes in schools) and advocate social policies that promise to improve the home life of disadvantaged children. An efficient system of schools requires social reforms as well as educational reforms, so that children of poor families are better situated to benefit from what improved schools have to offer.

The purpose of this policy paper is to persuade persons who are committed to the creation of a constitutionally sound, "efficient" school system that they should be primarily concerned with changing society, not the schools. Schools are not the problem; society is the problem. The Task Force on Education Reform needs to take off cultural blinders that many of us wear and think of equity primarily in terms of improving the living conditions of the poorer sectors of Kentucky's population.

In making the argument for focusing on out-of-school policies as the primary way to approach our educational "crisis" it is necessary to delineate first what is meant by the notion, "educational policy" and to clarify its relation to a comprehensive meaning of the term, educational theory. Educational <u>policy</u> is conceived here as prescriptions for the purposes of education and aims of schooling as well as the means and conditions for realizing the purposes and aims. <u>Purposes</u> are the central concern of a <u>general</u> educational theory. Purposes refer to the societal functions that schooling should serve. An example would be to enable people to become economically self-sufficient. <u>Aims</u> are specific outcomes of schooling in a <u>limited</u> educational theory that must be reached if schools are to be functional to the purposes set for them. Thus, for example, if a purpose of education in a general educational theory is to help people attain non-poverty-level paid work, then aims or outcomes of schooling in a limited educational theory would include students possessing at certain performance levels knowledges, understandings, attitudes, skills, and dispositions shown to be required for successful participation in the work force.

In addition to aims of schooling a limited educational theory calls for identifying means of and conditions for effective schooling. <u>Means</u> of schooling refers to the content and organization of the curriculum, and methods of teaching, learning, and evaluation. <u>Conditions</u> as a concept overlaps with that of means as a concept. Means is intended to refer to acts of teaching and learning for transmitting and acquiring the content of the curriculum and achieving performance standards for academic achievement. Conditions refer to factors and dynamics that contribute to the efficacy of teaching and learning and the realization of aims of schooling. These conditions would include

the "climate" of the school; the quality of relationships among administrators, teachers, students, and parents; the interest in education to be found in the community; the socio-economic characteristics of the pupils attending a school; and the financial resources available to a school district.

In sum, educational policy recommendations regarding the financing, governance, and curriculum of schooling must be formulated within a framework in which a general and limited educational theory has been enunciated for education and schooling. To reiterate, educational theory will be composed of two basic parts. 1) A general educational theory in which purposes for education have been articulated. 2) A limited educational theory in which aims (outcomes of schooling) deemed essential for realizing the purposes of education have been identified. The limited part of an educational theory prescribes means to realize the aims and focuses on effective teaching, learning, and evaluation techniques. Additionally, the limited part of an educational theory identifies conditions that will help make teaching and learning more effective and ensure better the realization of the aims of schooling. Given this conception of educational theory, educational policy means, operationally, prescribing purposes for education and aims of schooling and means and conditions for achieving aims of schooling. Upon doing this one will have a comprehensive educational theory.

One of the key conditions for realizing purposes of education and aims, means and other conditions of schooling is the financial support requisite to their realization. Determining what policy recommendations ought to be made for reforming the financing of public education in Kentucky at the elementary and secondary levels requires giving operational meaning to a set of core concepts in the theory of education that is implicit in "The Corns' Decision," the Report of the Select Committee appointed by Judge Corns to advise him on how to make the Kentucky public school system "constitutional," Kern Alexander's deposition statement of 6/23/87, and the Kentucky Supreme Court's ruling that upheld all but one point in Judge Corns' judgment. The following represents an interpretation of several core concepts in the above documents; the subsequent policy recommendations for a constitutionally sound, efficient system of common schools follow logically from that interpretation.

The selected core concepts are "efficiency," "equity," "adequacy," "uniformity," "quality," and "equality of educational opportunity." Other, related concepts are also employed, such as "deficiency," but their operational meaning is contained in one or more of the core concepts.

Efficiency is the most basic concept in the Corns' decision. Judge Corns' ruling stated that he was concerned with what Section 183 of the Kentucky Constitution meant by the phrase, "...an efficient system of common schools...(Corns, p. 7). Judge Corns concluded that the "General Assembly failed to provide an efficient system of Common Schools mandated by Section 183 of the Constitution" (Corns, p. 12). He came to that conclusion by

findings that to him indicated the following manifestations of inefficiency in Kentucky's public schools: 1) Variations in financial resources among the school districts in Kentucky (Corns, p. 7); poorer school districts not providing as broad a set of course offerings as wealthier school districts (Corns, p. 9); Kentucky's system of public elementary and secondary schools not providing many pupils with "basic educational skills" (Corns, p. 12); students in property-rich school districts having more educational opportunities than students in less affluent school districts (Corns, p. 12); unequal financial resources which have resulted in fewer educational services to "common school" students in many school districts.[2]

Efficiency, as explicated by Judge Corns above, is more clearly communicated by other core concepts he employs in the findings, conclusions, and judgment of his historic court decision. In the above alleged instances of a lack of efficiency he really means a lack of equity. Equity in the Corns' decision has to do with the distribution of resources among school districts in Kentucky. For the schools to be efficient financial resources must be equitably distributed among all school districts. As with previous court decisions, such as Rodriguez in Texas, Corns is conceiving of efficiency as equity and equity means, operationally and in large measure, equalizing per-pupil expenditures among all school districts in the Commonwealth. Whereas, though, all pupils in any school district do not come to school on an equal basis in terms of social advantages relevant to effective performance in school, equity within a school district probably has to entail the notion of weighted equity. That is, disadvantaged students may require an amount spent on them beyond that spent on more socially advantaged students. Not inconceivably this could apply to all the students in a property-poor school district, but that reality is not a likely occurrence. Even in the poorest school districts one may likely find pupils who do as well on standard achievement tests for courses available to them as students in wealthier school districts.

So when Judge Corns uses the term efficiency, it should be interpreted in large measure as equity. And equity is related to the concepts of "uniformity" and "equality of educational opportunity" in his decision. For the common school system to be efficient, and, therefore, constitutional, it must have the following characteristics: 1) Course offerings among school districts must be uniform in type and quality. Property-poor school districts shall provide the types of courses, such as

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[2]Several state judicial systems have grappled with the meaning of an "efficient" school system. A recent example is the Texas Supreme Court's 10/2/89 decision in the Edgewood vs. Kirby law suit. The court said, "The state's school financing system is neither financially efficient nor efficient in the sense of providing for a 'general diffusion of knowledge' statewide." The Lexington Herald-Leader, 10/3/89, p. 1.

advanced placement courses in math, science, and foreign languages, that are provided in property-rich school districts. 2) Such courses in any district shall be taught by properly trained teachers with adequate school conditions such as appropriate facilities, equipment, and materials. 3) Services, such as counseling and career guidance (another condition of schooling), shall be available in all school districts, with case loads of providers of services substantially equal among all the school districts. 4) Teacher salaries shall be alike in all school districts with differences in salary scales being justified by such factors as cost-of-living differentials among districts.

We have argued that often when Corns says schools are inefficient he means that they are not equitable in terms of the meanings of equity stated above. That meaning of equity has to do with the distribution of resources among all school districts. If resources are distributed equitably among all school districts then all school districts will have the financial resources to mount programs, courses, and services that are uniform throughout the common school system in Kentucky. Doing so is one meaning of equality of educational opportunity for common school students.

A related core concept to that of equity is adequacy. In the Corns decision adequacy has at least two meanings. One is more related to equity and the other to efficiency, but both are related to each other. The meaning of adequacy when related to equity has to do with adequacy of funding the common schools of Kentucky. You cannot distribute resources that you do not possess. In all likelihood distributing resources equitably among all school districts so that they can provide uniform programs, courses, and services requires additional monies not just a reshuffling of existing monies for education. Adequacy, operationally speaking, means an increase in financial revenues to provide the monies needed to make Kentucky's common school system equitable.[3]

Adequacy also has a curricular meaning that is tied more closely to what Judge Corns means by an efficient school system.

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[3]Dr. James Melton, former deputy superintendent of public instruction, has drawn up a plan for alternative methods of "adequately" funding Kentucky's common school system. Dr. James Melton, Report of the Task Force on School Finance, Research Report No. 238 (Frankfort, Kentucky: Legislative Research Commission, January, 1989). See Tom Parrish, "The school ruling: putting a price tag on what the counties may have to do," Lexington Herald-Leader, January 6, 1989. Dr. John Brock, Superintendent of Public Instruction, has argued that Judge Corns' decision calls for equity (redistribution) not adequacy (enhanced overall revenues). It is hard to understand how one can have redistribution without revenue enhancement unless one is going to reduce the financial ability of some school districts to maintain quality programs. Brock's rejection of adequacy may be due to his running for the U.S. Senate and his desire not to be associated with a tax increase proposal.

When Corns uses the term efficiency, he often means equity and his meaning of equity is related to his more basic and comprehensive meaning of efficiency. For Judge Corns an efficient school system is one that realizes fundamental purposes for education. Judge Corns' purposes for education include enabling every student to realize his/her potentialities (Corns, p. 13). Now we know human beings have constructive, neutrally consequential, and harmful potentialities; the Judge is not likely advocating the realization of potentialities such as stealing from others. He is not advocating the realization of any and all potentialities. His view of potentialities is shaped by two considerations, one explicit and the other implicit in his decision. The explicit consideration is his stated purpose for education as the "cultivation and utilization of 'human capital'...." Corns holds to a human capital theory for the development of persons. Human capital theory in its narrowest sense means that the purpose for education is to enable people to acquire skills and other aims of schooling that will enable them to make a productive contribution to the nation's economy. Corns is compelling the General Assembly to do this in an equitable way so that Kentucky's common school system is not in violation of the Constitution. By equalizing financial resources among all school districts, property-poor school districts will be able to provide the programs, courses, and services that property-rich school districts provide for their students. Equality of opportunity as the equal provision of programs, courses, and services across all school districts will be achieved, and pupils, as a whole, from different districts will have an equal chance to develop job and career related skills.

However, Judge Corns, as a representative of the state (not state-level government per se, but the state as the political organization of the people in contrast to the social interactions of the same people non-politically, what is called "civil society"), adheres also to a broader view of human capital theory.[4] The narrow view emphasizes achieving aims of schooling that will contribute towards the perceived needs of business and industry for trained personnel. Schools are viewed as having an economic productivity value in that it is the task of the schools in the narrow view of human capital theory to turn out dependable operating units to achieve the value criteria governing the production and distribution of goods and services in our economy.

The economic system is a central institution of civil society. (Other institutions of civil society include religion, the family, and education.) In achieving its value criteria effectively, the economic system may be creating harmful, unintended consequences for society, such as resource depletion, environmental degradation, and gross inequalities of income and living conditions. It is the task of the people, as politically organized, to see that the economy as a central institution of civil society is shaped so that

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[4]Cf. Theodore W. Schultz Investing in People (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1981).

it is effectively supporting the values of the people, as they are politically organized. One chief value in a democratic state is the creation of the conditions that will enable the people to participate as fully as possible in enabling the state--themselves as politically organized--to influence the institutions of civil society in democratically defensible ways.[5] Thus, although the economy--the marketplace--may possibly be able to justify its unequal treatment of people on the basis of their contribution to production, the state is obliged to create the conditions for effective participation in its functioning by all citizens, regardless of their contribution to economic productivity.[6] Otherwise, in a democratic, capitalist state, the tendency will be towards plutocracy--rule by the property powerful.

This conception of the state is implicit in Section 183 of Kentucky's Constitution and Judge Corns' use of it in his decision regarding the unconstitutionality of the common schools of Kentucky. Section 183 states: "The General Assembly shall, by appropriate legislation, provide for an efficient system of common schools throughout the state" (Corns, p. 15). Given Judge Corns' human capital theory an efficient system of common schools throughout the state requires at least two types of outcomes for schooling: 1) All students will have the knowledges, understandings, attitudes, skills, and dispositions to make a productive contribution to the economic life of the nation. 2) Outcomes of schooling will also enable them to participate fully in making the state an effective instrument for enhancing the ability of the institutions of civil society to support democratic and socially constructive values. These outcomes expand the notion of human capital theory beyond that of schools producing an efficient workforce for making the American economy more competitive. This broadened view of human capital theory would involve schools in character education where students are encouraged to develop loyalty to the community as a whole with the human community viewed in a multicultural and global perspective. It would also call for the schools to provide the experiences for learning whether and how to change society's institutions rather than just how to make existing institutions more efficient in

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[5]Cf. Michael Walzer, Spheres of Justice, A Defense of Pluralism and Equality (New York: Basic Books, 1983), pp. 316-318.

[6]An argument made by Martin Carnoy in his article, "Educational Adequacy: Alternative Perspectives and Their Implications for Educational Finance," Journal of Education Finance 8 (Winter, 1983), pp. 291-292. We wish to thank Dr. Tom Jeffries of the University of Louisville for bringing this article to our attention.

realizing their present purposes.[7]

An implicit general educational theory, then, is present in Judge Corns' use and interpretation of Section 183 of Kentucky's Constitution. He has not explicated as fully as he might have what he means by concepts such as efficiency and equity. But there is a logic to his decision that adds up to a coherent general and limited educational theory. The comprehensive educational theory is as follows: The purposes for education are twofold: 1) To enable people to be functionally relevant to the manpower needs of the American economy. 2) To enable the state, as it operates through various levels of government, to contribute to democratic and socially benign values in the nation-state and the global community. This is the logic of Judge Corns' conception of an "efficient" educational system.

The aim of schooling In Judge Corns' limited educational theory is to develop the knowledges, understandings, attitudes, skills, and dispositions requisite to the two basic purposes for education: effective participation in civil society and the state. Means of schooling in his limited educational theory are the programs, courses,and services, and the teaching, learning, and evaluation techniques required to achieve the aims of schooling. Conditions of schooling and society in his limited educational theory are the elements and dynamics needed to mount adequate means of schooling for realizing aims of schooling (such as equitable financing), and to ameliorate or change societal factors that function as a barrier to all pupils achieving the of aims of schooling.

Policies regarding the proper financing of and curriculum for the common school system of Kentucky, then, have to meet the criteria of 1) Efficiency -- supporting the purposes for effective participation in civil society and the state. 2) Equity (a) -- distributing resources so that every school district can provide comparable programs, courses and services. 3) Equity (b) -- recognizing that schools in every school district do not serve

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[7]See Henry A. Giroux, "Education for Democracy and Empowerment," TIKKUN, Vol. 3, No. 5 (September-October, 1988), pp. 30-33. This broadened view of human capital theory is to be seen in the civic education literature as well as in contemporary social theory. See for example, R. Freeman Butts, The Morality of Democratic Citizenship: Goals for Civic Education in the Republic's Third Century (Calabasas, CA: Center for Civic Education (5146 Douglas Fir Road, Calabasas, CA 91302), 1988; R. Freeman Butts, The Civic Mission in Educational Reform: Perspectives for the Public and the Profession (Stanford, CA: Hoover Institution Press, Stanford University, 1989; Richard Pratte, The Civic Imperative: Examining the Need for Civic Education (New York: Teachers College Press, 1988). In the social theory literature, see Robert Bellah, et al., Habits of the Heart, Individualism and Commitment in American Life (New York: Harper & Row, 1986).

recognizing that schools in every school district do not serve and/or cannot serve some groups of students very effectively.[8] If these students are to remain in school and to achieve as well as they might, additional resources will have to be aimed at these students.[9] Equity, in this regard, refers to the power (ability) of particular resources to help disadvantaged students make the most of what the school has to offer.[10] The particularly powerful resources may include non-financial ones, such as having poor and minority students in classes where the majority of students are from non-poor families (socio-economic integration of students). The resources may also be financial, leading to a third meaning of equity: 4) Equity (c) -- distributing additional tax dollars directly to the families of poor and minority students in the form of cash benefits or legal claims to services such as medical and dental care and to family requirements such as decent housing and steady jobs at non-poverty level wages.[11] 5) Adequacy (a) --

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[8]See Arthur Wise, "Educational Adequacy: A Concept in Search of Meaning," Journal of Education Finance 8 (Winter, 1983).

[9]See, for example, W. Steven Barnett, "Benefit-Cost Analysis of the Perry Preschool Program and Its Policy Implications," Educational Evaluation & Policy Analysis, Vol. 7, No. 4 (Winter, 1985).

[10]This conception of equity was presented to the Task Force on Education Reform by James Coleman, a conception of his going back to Equality of Educational Opportunity (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, 1966), of which he was principal investigator. See pp. 21-23, for example.

[11]An efficient school system, one that prepares the young for effective participation in civil society and the state, likely requires a comprehensive view of financing the programs required for the proper development of all our youth. A comprehensive financial program would need to include revenues needed by the Cabinet for Human Resources to strengthen the socialization function of poverty-stricken and broken families. It is the view of this paper that focusing financial outlays on the out-of-school realities of families of poor students may be the key to significantly raising the overall performance level of pupils in Kentucky's system of common schools. We need to think of financing human development rather than just pouring more monies into schooling itself. Cash benefits could be tied to mandatory participation in adult and life-long education programs, such as parenting skills and job training (workfare). A comprehensive financial program outlook is reflected in the 10/5/89 House of Representatives passed 7.2 billion national child care system bill. Rep. George Miller, D-Ca., stated the rationale for the child care bill: "This is a significant step in helping our young children succeed [emphasis added] and will relieve many American families

raising the revenue needed to provide for the necessary amount and the equitable distribution of financial resources. 6) Adequacy (b) --emphasizing aims and means of schooling that support--lead to--the purposes for education implicit in the constitutional requirement of an efficient school system. 7) Uniformity--providing comparable programs, courses, and services in all school districts. 8) Quality--ensuring that similar programs are competently taught and materially supported. 9) Equality (a) --removing any characteristics of schooling that violate the criterion of equity--equality of educational opportunity conceived as equality of inputs, such as the simple justice of equalizing per-pupil expenditures. 10) Equality (b) -- changing any characteristics of schooling and/or society that function as a barrier to reducing gaps in achievement between students from different socio-economic and cultural backgrounds--equality of educational opportunity conceived of as equality of results. (Equality of results may require more than simple justice. Simple justice, such as equality of per-pupil expenditures, may not significantly reduce gaps in achievement between children from poor and affluent families. "Effective justice" would be the creation of those conditions that would significantly raise the achievement scores of children from poor families.)

These eight criteria should guide the reforming of the way the common school system of Kentucky is financed in order for that system to achieve its purpose of preparing youth for effective participation in civil society and the state. A caveat should be noted, though, regarding the criteria; it calls for one additional criterion. Academic performance results, such as school district results on the Kentucky utilized Comprehensive Tests of Basic Skills, will reflect differences between property-rich and property-poor school districts. Average achievement on such tests by students in property-rich school districts will generally be higher than average achievement scores by students in property-poor school districts. An exception to this outcome is to be found where property-rich school districts contain a high concentration of pupils from poor families.

Kern Alexander in his deposition statement of 6/23/87 stated that "you find high correlation between assessed valuation of the school district, the revenue, and the achievement test scores" (p. 27). Alexander went on to say that a "child in a poor district will almost certainly have lower reading test scores than a child in a wealthy school district" (p. 27). The problem with these descriptive statements is that all they claim is that one thing is associated with another. These descriptive, "correlative" statements do not explain why scores are often lower in poorer school districts and higher in richer school districts. To do so would be to make a causal and not just a correlative claim about achievement test results. If we are to use additional and

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of the stress that comes from searching for quality care they can afford." The Lexington Herald-Leader, 10/6/89, p. 1.

equitably distributed revenues wisely, we need to know which students in any district do not score well on achievement tests. If we can identify that particular segment of a district's total student body, we should be in a better position to offer an explanation--make a causal claim--as to why those particular students score lower than other groups of students in a school district. Superintendent Brock likely pointed to the best explanation for "sub-par" achievement of a certain section of a district's students when he noted that they came from poor families. Thus, in contrast to Alexander's assessment of sub-par achievement, at least part of the explanation for sub-par achievement of a child in a poor school district is not that the district is property-poor but that the child with the sub-par achievement comes from a poor family. (Another part of the explanation, at least for non-poor students, is likely the lack of programs that are available in property-rich districts.) Even in the most property-poor school districts there will be at least some pupils who do well on certain achievement tests at various levels of schooling. What is the socio-economic status of the families of these high-achievement pupils? If generally they can be classified as being non-poor, then we are likely closer to an adequate explanation for sub-par achievement in property-poor and property-rich school districts alike. Differences in achievement within some of the "best" schools in property-rich districts may be just as great as differences in achievement between schools, as a whole, in property-rich and property-poor school districts.

If such is the case then we need an additional criterion for guiding policies for the equitable distribution of resources among all districts. Kern Alexander alludes to it in his deposition when he states that the New Jersey court decision, Robinson vs. Cahill, "meant more than simple equality or equal distribution of resources. It meant, in addition to that, the leveling or evening up for children that have educational deficiencies" (p. 17). This criterion is in large measure a restatement of the criterion of equity where meeting that criterion requires concentrating monies on those particular resources that will help students from poor families do better in school (effective justice). But the additional, new criterion is one that ties educational policy to social policy, as noted in footnote number 11.

Educational policy concerns itself with changes and developments in the purposes of education and the aims, means, and conditions of schooling as an institution. Social policy directs its attention to changes and developments in institutions outside the school, e.g., the family and the economy. In its efforts to develop an efficient common school system in Kentucky the Task Force on Education Reform must concern itself with the impact of institutions other than formal schooling on academic achievement If schools are to accomplish what we expect of them, then changes in the other institutions of society may be necessary.

For example, Community Action Councils should be established in every county of Kentucky if model programs are effective in strengthening the socialization function of families of poor

children. These councils provide a variety of services, such as prenatal care, infant and child development information, programs in health, nutrition and parenting, and help with employment and/or education.[12] Integratively financed community action programs, such as that of the Lexington Community Action Council, by federal, state, and local government may be a more effective use of tax revenues to improve academic achievement among children from poor families than pumping additional monies exclusively into schools to help these children benefit more from schooling. Investing in programs such as Community Action Councils represents a social policy approach to achieving educational goals that traditionally have been sought primarily through changes within schools.

It is not an either/or situation, though. We need educational and social policies for an efficient system of public elementary and secondary schools. The policy issue is one of emphasis; now is the time to invest more into social policies to help children of poor families do better in schools.[13] The state as the political organization of the people needs to enhance through social policies the ability of the family to fulfill its socialization and developmental functions.

We also need to go beyond a combination of educational and social policies if we are to solve our so-called educational crisis. A third type of intervention is required--fundamental social change. We are actually experiencing an economic crisis and one that is not due primarily to the failure of schools to provide enough skilled manpower. The American economy is not as competitive as it might be with other economies of the Free World because of several factors that have nothing to do with the quality of the nation's schools. (These factors include the federal deficit created by military Keynesianism and skewed tax reductions.) And where the economy's competitiveness has to do with how some of our children are doing in school, the solution to poor achievement is not so much changing the schools, but changing the economy. Inner-city schools are not failing inner-city, underclass children. Our inner-city schools are often doing a heroic job in helping these children benefit from what the schools have to offer. It is what these children bring to school that largely determines how well they will do in school. Many do not bring much in terms of motivation, support, and perceived usefulness of schools to productive and rewarding involvement in society. There are limits to what schools can do with such students. By and large the schools may not be failing these students. The economic institution of civil society and the state

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[12]See Sharon M. Reynolds report in the 10/3/89 edition of the Lexington Herald-Leader on the awarding of a five year, one million dollar a year grant to the Lexington, Kentucky local Community Action Council.

[13]The 10/5/89 House passed national child care system bill represents this policy perspective.

may be failing them. They are failing to provide steady jobs with good wages and family supporting benefits. As a result, in the inner-cities of our nation people are living in despair and experience living conditions that tell them that there are worse things than crack and cocaine. You can't tell people in such straits to just say no to drugs and crime. You've got to radically alter their social lives by providing economic security and self-esteem through jobs that they can qualify for now.

What are those kinds of jobs? There is much to be done in refurbishing the infrastructure of our economy and meeting basic human needs. Road-building, bridge repairs (Governor Wilkinson has proposed a modest program of repairing bridges in Kentucky), reconstruction of secondary roads, renovating of blighted tenements in the cities, and construction of housing for poor and low and middle-income people in urban, suburban, and rural areas are just some of the projects that cry out for action. These projects can best be handled through a private sector whose priorities are guided and supported by governmental investment and conjoint direction by business and industry, labor unions, relevant governmental agencies, and local community groups. These projects can put low-skilled people to work who then will be able to buy the products manufactured by an American industrial system that has been given appropriate incentives for producing quality products and services. And such products can be produced by the American people. American manufacturers move plants overseas to obtain cheap labor, not skilled labor.

During the Reagan years (and apparently being continued into the Bush administration) tax changes redistributed income from the poor and middle-class to the rich. The figures are there to substantiate this claim. Such was defended on the ground that reducing taxes on the rich would lead them to invest more into the economy and everyone would benefit--a rising tide lifts all boats. But for that to happen you had to have a boat, and poor Americans had none. And middle-class Americans lost boats. And the rich didn't invest their tax reduction windfall, as it was presumably hoped they would. They spent it--on Jaguars, Mercedes, and other items of conspicuous consumption.

An efficient school system for our nation as a whole--higher school achievement among poor pupils and civic education for active participation by all persons in the political process to develop a fairer society, a need in every state of the union--should be our national socio-educational goal. An efficient school system is one that answers the question of efficiency for what with a general educational theory whose purposes are productive participation in civil society and the state. The realization of this conception of an efficient school system requires a three-pronged approach: 1) Educational policies for enabling schools to accomplish what they are realistically capable of doing to contribute to an efficient educational system. 2 Social policies that will help strengthen the socialization function of the American family. And, 3) fundamental social changes (FSC--let's make it a buzz acronym) that will enable the American people, as a whole, to shape and

direct the commanding heights of the economy. Good-willed and socially intelligent and sensitive people should demand an economy that is responsive to the basic needs of all persons and groups in our society, especially the least advantaged among us.

The Task Force on Education Reform will be making a mistake if it restricts itself to just the development of educational policies (changes in the governance, financing, and curriculum of schools). Such changes, for example, the shibboleth of "restructuring" the schools, will not solve the educational crisis, for there is no educational crisis. An economic crisis exists. It is the same old one in American history, the one that results from the maldistribution of wealth and income in American society and is now exacerbated by newly emerging external economic challenges. If the Task Force on Education Reform restricts itself to changes in schools several years down-the-pike they may find that average achievement scores in Kentucky (and the nation) haven't changed that much. Then schools as a secondary institution of civil society will again be made the scapegoat for the inadequacies, inequities, and inefficiencies of the fundamental institution of civil society--the American economy. To improve schools we need to change the economy, not the schools. A changed economy will result in changed schools. The finger of accountability needs to be pointed to our economic and political leaders. This basic point needs to be recognized by all concerned with a constitutionally sound, efficient system of common schools--with especially for us in Kentucky--by the Task Force on Education.

Given this perspective on the relationship of schools to the other institutions of our culture the additional criterion for guiding policies on financial investment into the development of people who can productively contribute to civil society and the state is 9) Social Justice -- changing institutions other than formal schooling in ways that allow for the realization of a constitutionally sound, efficient system of common schools.